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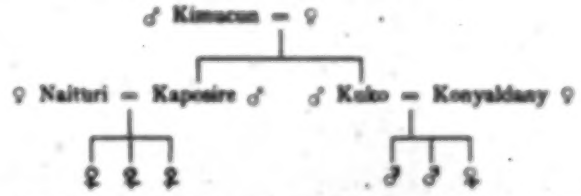
payment and a man has but few live stock) have induced a real affection of husband for wife, and a rarity of divorce. This is reflected in the husband's behaviour to his wife, and in the absence of the custom found among the Nandi of letting a wife sleep with a visiting age-mate. A wife being a necessity once she has been got, a man tends to do all he can to keep her, and he treats her well, with such kindness and consideration as can be shown to an inferior, giving her all the inducements to a contented life that are within his power. Although a man may be somewhat aloof when he is at home, his general attitude and behaviour to his wife form a good example for his sons to copy.

Children then grow up under the authority of two people who are more important to them than anyone else in the horde, their father and mother. The father has authority over his wife because he provides food for her and her children by his own skill, and a primitive woman cannot exist without the support of a man; in the old days a bad wife had nowhere to go if her husband brought himself to the pitch of divorcing her, except back to her parents, who would not welcome an extra mouth to feed. Over his children a man has that authority which is based on the respect felt for a person whom they know must be obeyed. Incidents of the kind that I saw one day at the home of a man named Cesundil are not uncommon. A child was yelling outside the hut. Taprandic the mother told it to be quiet: it merely yelled louder. Cesundil then said quietly but firmly, *Sis lahuanni* (be quiet, child), and it was silent immediately.

As Evans-Pritchard has pointed out, the behaviour of father to mother must influence the attitude of a son to his mother [1]. It is the mother and other women who look after a child till nearly the age of puberty; and to-day as in the past, though the father is no longer wholly occupied in hunting and therefore much more at home, the traditional pattern still holds good. I have more than once seen a man left in charge of his small children while the mother was away and treating them in the fussy sort of way that one would expect of a man not very sure of his ground — sure of his authority, which was not being called in question, but not at all sure of his ability to deal with childish problems which the mother on her return can settle at once. It is the mother who gives the children immediate comfort and protection; she it is who teaches them the elementary rules of conduct and decency, who impresses upon them that they must obey father, because he is father, and who sees that as they grow older they help her with such small tasks as they can manage. It is to their mother that children run when hurt or frightened, and it is by her that they are nursed when ill. She thus has a large claim on their affection, but this would be reduced if they saw her disrespectfully treated by their father. On the whole, the claim is reinforced among the Dorobo by the way men treat their wives. And in old age a mother is taken care of by her son, and whereas she brought him up in his infancy, so now in her old age she

[1] Man, 1929, 148.

ficatory mother, *niyo*, has a similar position, and if the father's mother is not alive, or living far away, she takes the grandmother's place in helping her husband's brother's wife; and being younger than the grandmother, can give more active assistance. This was the case with two brothers both married, whose mother was dead:



To Kaposire's children, Konyaldany took the place of the grandmother; and Naiturí did the same for Kuko's children,. The father's brother is the equivalent, as an authority in the lives of children, of the mother's brother among the Nandi and elsewhere, and is as near as possible a second father. Patrilocal residence as well as other factors no doubt account for this; and the effect is that the father's brother is someone to be reckoned with, a man with whom a boy should keep on good terms, and one of whom permission must be obtained before a boy is circumcised. Kimutai arap Ruto is Arap Mining's brother. He lived in the same settlement at Kipukua, and saw his brother's children every day. When he greeted them, he said, *Sopai, leiyo*, and they answered, *Epa, papa*. (Here *leiyo* is used loosely as a term of familiarity.) The father's brother gives the children food and other things; he teaches them much of what it is necessary for them to know, and when they ask him questions, like what is this grass called? what are you going to do with that piece of wood? what made those marks on the ground? and so forth, he answers them in such a way that question and answer become part of their education. He shows them his bow, arrows, and quiver, his knives, his honey bags. He takes them into the forest and tells them how people look after their bees, how they make honey-barrels, and how they take honey. He teaches them to use firesticks, and explains the magical observances towards bees and honey.

The mother's brother, *mama*, the father's sister, *pukut*, and their spouses (f. *mama*, m. *konyit*) are in a different category from the father's brother. Not only do they live in different settlements, but the mother's brother has no special position of authority. And while all Dorobo to whom I talked knew their father's brother, many did not know their mother's brother, either by name or by sight. Others knew his name, but had never seen him; and in one or two cases when I was taking down genealogies men had to ask their friends what their mother's brothers' names were. It is thus quite clear that the mother's brother is of little account, and that the father's brother is a much more important person.

Yet on occasion the mother's brother is accorded a respect that is not his customary due. Arap Mining was a great follower of tradition, but

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arap Ruto. There were also two old women, Cesikirikat mother of Arap Mining, and Cepkatet mother of Cesundil. With these lived Cesundil's young sister Cepkoiec, aged about 15, who helped her brother's wife to look after the two children, and slept either in her mother's hut, or in the hut of Cesikirikat, eating with her mother or with Cesundil and his wife. The three men Malakuen, Kipuang, and Kimutai lived together, eating with either of the old women (contributing their share of the food), while Kipungei lived alone, eating with his mother. Cepkoiec could marry none of these young men, since they were all her clansmen. Such an arrangement seems to be quite usual when a girl has reached puberty but has not yet been circumcised. At Soosiyo a somewhat younger girl named Cepotip lived in a small hut (*nikiruiwat*) with her youngest brother Kimitei (a *Juma*). When she went visiting to the neighbouring settlement Nduroton she stayed with women there who, when they came to Soosiyo, slept in Cepotip's hut, the boy going out to sleep elsewhere.

Where other relatives are concerned, the age-set behaviour patterns tend to replace those of kinship, and even when people are related and within the *tilat*, they are for practical purposes little more regarded than fellow-clansmen. Indeed, in a clan settlement, such people have more influence and effect on their neighbours' children than blood-relatives who live at a distance.

In a primitive people like the Dorobo there is little formality in the educational system, which consists largely of training in obedience, behaviour, and techniques, which are learned from the parents and others with whom the child comes into contact. These contacts are not large owing to the nature of the country and the social system, and thus the relatives with whom a child is seriously concerned are but few. This narrow range of contact must be considered in the light of such important factors as the absence of tracks through the forest, the scattering of relatives, and the abnormal shyness and suspicion of the Dorobo.

Up to the age when a child can be of some help to its parents, both boys and girls are mainly with their mother, who teaches them the business of eating and living in a hut. She corrects childish bad habits and makes them familiar with the ordinary customs and precautions of every day life that have to be observed in Dorobo surroundings. The father corrects improper behaviour towards himself and the mother.

But at the age of usefulness, which comes a little before the onset of puberty, and depends on the child's growth and intelligence, there is a division of duties between the parents. The father begins to teach his son the elements of hunting and trapping, how to make things of wood, how to skin animals, and how to use a bow and arrow, in short, how to behave like a man and do man's work. The mother teaches her daughter how to manage a home, how to look after small children, and how to perform the normal tasks of a Dorobo woman. At this stage both boys and girls are in one respect general servants of the family; they have to herd any stock their father may possess, and make themselves useful about the homestead.

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normally go elsewhere for the night, leaving the hut to the men. In the matter of hospitality, relationship by blood, marriage, or clan is a deciding factor in the length of time for which a man may expect to be put up by his host. Thus, no matter what the age-set situation may be, a man who is neither a relative nor a clansman cannot claim more than two nights' hospitality on account of necessity, and will not be given honey-wine; while a relative or clansman may be fed for a week or even longer, and the host will give him honey-wine if he has any.

3. Behaviour

A brief summary of the modes of behaviour towards important relatives was given by a Dorobo in the following words: *Makicupe papa ne kosica a kopire laknat*; *makicupe kokwy papa*; *makimaaci korkat ak aiyo walek ce somis, amu ya, ngol walek ap kumisiet*; *kisrerencinkei tukul*. ("A man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we all play together, i. e. we are on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun'.") Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother and men of senior age-sets.

It is unlikely that any Dorobo ever sees his father's father's father, and the father's father is seen only by small children. The father's father is regarded much as one's own father. But the father's mother helps in the care of the children, and so becomes an object not only of familiarity but of affection as well to the children. To all of the father's generation a man should show respect and obedience. He must not insult them, nor use unsuitable language in their presence. Corporal punishment may be inflicted on a rude or disobedient child with the hand or with a stick, by father, mother, and father's brother. Verbal correction is also a common method of dealing with naughty children, and though a man would not as a rule say to a naughty child who had made him angry anything as drastic as *Amin celelei* (may you die of dysentery), in case the spirit-world took him at his word, he might go as far as *Iam piat* (eat dirt), an expression which if used by a child to a senior would certainly earn a beating.

Most Dorobo are fond of their parents, and treat them in old age with much kindness and consideration. Wherever I found aged parents living with their sons it was the same; and the more helpless the parent, the greater the trouble taken to make them comfortable. The old father of Pilo, to whom I have already referred, was such a one. Bent double, hardly able to move without help, he spent his time lying outside in the sun when it was warm, and indoors beside the fire when it was cold. He had to be helped in and out, and fed and looked after like a child; but it was all done cheerfully by Coimim and his wife, in whose hut the old man lived, and if they could not attend to him, Pilo and his wife did.